'Safety First' surmounted by his, he had mistakenly hoped, reassuring features. They hankered after tariffs, which Mr. Baldwin had forsworn; they were uneasy about the Government's India policy, which Mr. Baldwin had with some reservations endorsed; Mr. Churchill had felt constrained to withdraw from the Conservative Party Shadow Cabinet, and another ex-Minister, Mr. Amery, was openly rebellious. It is even possible that Mr. Baldwin might have been ousted from the Party leadership[22] but for one of those fortunate accidents from which he has so often benefited. Just when his position was most insecure he was lucky enough to be the object of a combined onslaught by Lord Beaverbrook and Lord Rothermere.

It is impossible for these two peers to attack without benefiting or to praise without harming. The public will read their newspapers, but has so engrained a distrust of their judgment and motives that it will not be influenced by them, except contrariwise. Thus they find themselves in the curious position of wielding immense influence which they cannot use to enhance their own sense of importance. Lord Northcliffe found, to his deep sorrow and chagrin, that he could not even influence readers of his newspapers to the extent of persuading them to alter their headgear. The only wearers of the *Daily Mail* hat were his own employees, who, according to Mr. Tom Clark,[23] used to carry their normal bowlers and trilbys in a bag to put on as soon as there was no danger of meeting their employer; and Lord Northcliffe was seen at Dover agonisedly

watching passengers go aboard cross-Channel steamers in the hope of seeing at least one or two wearing the hat he had so ardently tried to popularise.

There are, indeed, few more tantalising situations in life than a Press Lord's. He has money, he has his circle of paid flatterers; he can have as much publicity as he likes since the headlines are his own to get into, and can make others famous or infamous as

[22] His succession to Lord "WjHingdon as Governor-General of Canada was seriously considered.

[23] *My Northdife Diary.*